1. Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking, wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

ENVIRONMENT

TOPOGRAPHY

The atoll of Pukapuka lies about 300 miles northeast of Samoa, 715 miles northwest of Rarotonga. Its nearest neighbor, Nassau, is about 42 miles southeast and was formerly occupied by a colony from Pukapuka.

Pukapuka consists of three islets with a land area of 1,250 acres, and a few sand banks grouped around a barrier reef (fig.1,a) that encloses a lagoon about 5 miles long and 2 to 3 miles wide. Pukapuka, the northern islet, is about 1 mile wide and has a greatest depth of about ½ mile. The entire population of the atoll lives on the lagoon shore of Pukapuka (fig.1,b). The word Pukapuka has no meaning but various etymologies. The old name for the atoll, Te Ulu-o-te-wate (Head-of-the-rock), refers to the legendary origin of the islands and is commonly used in old chants. The occupied part of this islet is generally called Wale (Home). The two southern islets, Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, form reserve food lands (motu—translated throughout as reserve) and are visited occasionally for food and copra supplies. Each reserve has a small permanent settlement of houses occupied during these visits.

The landing passage (ana) on the western side of Pukapuka (Wale) is used by canoes and flat-bottomed boats only. All supplies and passengers are transferred outside the reef to native canoes for transport across the reef to the landing beach. The western-most section of the islet is occupied by the people of Ifuto village. This village extends across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one reserve of Yato called Nisa. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.

The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato. They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted after the tidal wave of 1914. North of the village road running through Loto stretches the only reserve of Loto, Uta, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

361 most village, Ngake, formerly occupied Utupoa, the southeastern arm of Wale. After the
731 wave of 1914, houses were rebuilt on the lagoon frontage contiguous to the houses of Loto,
and other houses were built on a section of land extending from the lagoon to the outer
423 beach. This section of Ngake faces the outer beach extension of Loto. The two exten-
sions occupy opposite sides of the village road. The reserve of Ngake is Motu Ko. Land
621 at Utupoa is also used as a reserve, but sections here are owned by individual lineages and
not by the village as a whole.

All three islets are intersected by paths and trails. The main road (*ngatuale*) of
491 Wale extends from the landing beach, through Yato, across the causeway, and through
Loto. One branch makes a right-angled turn and passes to the outer beach, to the court-
487 house, residency, and the outer sections of Loto and Ngake. The other branch runs
through the lagoon section of Ngake. Formerly it led to the Utupoa site of Ngake. This
wide main road is well kept and bordered by coral stones. From it branch off trails and
smaller paths leading to the outer beaches and the reserves. These paths, as well as the
many paths on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, are named after persons, either contempo-
raries or those now dead, who originally cut the clearings through the bush. Contempo-
raries cheerfully accept the responsibility of keeping their paths clear, and descendants
of those after whom the paths are named accept the same responsibility.

Each village and reserve has a number of alternate names that are frequently referred to in chants and conversation:

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Village or Reserve	Old Names	Remarks
Ngake	Puna-tiu	'Erect-penis'
	Te Yawea	—
	Te Langafiuka	Refers to kilts (titi) of pandanus dyed red, worn by Ngake villagers at festivals.
	Kilisuma	'Bird Skin', name taken when birds were plentiful on Motu Ko.
Loto	Avalua	Name of legendary land.
	Kotipolo	'Cutting of palm leaves'.
	Yasenata	—
Yato	Tukuuma	'Circle'?
	Ulukawa	'Penis-of-comic'?
Motu Kotawa	Te Nuku-ya-o-Matalihi	Sacred-isle-of-Matalihi[1]
Motu Ko	Te Nuku-loa-o-Matalihi	Long-isle-of-Matalihi[1]

The western half of the lagoon, including Motu Kotawa and the western half of Wale, is also called Te Lau-la-lalo no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Lower-part-of Head-of-the-rock). The eastern half, including Motu Ko and the eastern half of Wale, is called Te Lau-la-langa no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Upper-part-of Head-of-the-rock).

PLACE NAMES

A list of 140 representative place names, including all the names of paths and trails, taro gardens, land section, household lots and other division names collected in Pukapuka, is on file in the library of Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

[1] Matalihi (means alike, chiefly eyes) refers to the lineage and supervising Ono reserves and is not to be confused with Matalihi (means fish, tiny shark), the name of the Pleiades.

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
361, 491

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for short description of village divisions and paths on Wale, see p. 11.]